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EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS
UPON CURRENT TOPICS—COMPILED EVERY
DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

Political Reconstruction—The Impending
Crises in Connecticut.

From the Herald.

We live in wonderful times. The march of
ideas is carrying everything before it. It is
the momentum of a heavy railway train de-
pendent on one of those long sweeps of the Alle-
ghenies, and the cry is "Clear the track!" The
patriarch Noah, the builder of the original
Great Eastern, the chosen vessel of the Lord—
old Noah, who lived six hundred years before
the flood, who sailed his big ship over the
flood, and who survived three hundred and
fifty years after the flood—passed, we dare say,
through a small experience in the progress of
ideas compared with that, for instance, of
William Lloyd Garrison or Wendell Phillips.
The ancient patriarch, it is true, passed
through a great deluge of water, but Garrison
and Phillips have passed through a deluge of
fire, the most terrible in the world's history,
and they still live.

Only look at it. In October, 1835, a female
anti-slavery society was riotously broken up
in Boston by a collection of conservatives de-
scribed as "gentlemen of property and stand-
ing," and Mr. Garrison, who went to the
meeting to deliver an address, after attempting
to conceal himself in a carpenter's shop from the
fury of the mob, was captured, had his clothes
torn off, and was dragged through the streets
with a rope around his neck. And for what?
For preaching in Boston negro eman-
cipation. Cotton then was king, even among
the Puritans. Still later in the day, in New
York, the famous Democratic Empire Club an-
nually set apart a contingent fund for the recep-
tion of the abolitionist Phillips with a welcome
of rotten eggs. Now, mark the change. Gar-
rison is hailed as a public benefactor every-
where. He has had a jubilee in Charleston.
He is the object of a fifty thousand dollar sub-
scription fund; and as for Phillips, if he now
becomes comparatively tame in his philippics,
it is because he misses the inspiration of
Captain Rynders and his shower of eggs. Are
not these among the wonders wrought in Israel
in these latter days?

Who can tell what next is coming? With
the country turned upside down and inside
out, there is no telling what may come to the
surface. In the work of political reconstruction
the materials at hand must be used. Thus our
hard-set Democracy in our last November
election were compelled to take a new depart-
ure. At Chicago they were headed by the
banker Belmont and his coach and six; two
years later, in New York, the ex-ponner of
Yankee Sullivan, the banker Morrissey (faro
and keno), is called to the rescue. He pays
his way and goes to Congress, but his friend
Hoffman, of the old Democratic pattern, is left
in the lurch. He was not sufficiently recon-
structed, like Morrissey, to win. He was, in
fact, behind the drift of events and the spirit
of the age. He was still running the old
go-cart of the Dred Scott decision against the
steam engine of emancipation, and so Hoffman
was capsize, while Morrissey is hailed as the
new Democratic champion for the belt in
Congress against the mighty Ben Butler.

Profiting from this example of a new experi-
ment to meet the new order of things, the rad-
icals of Connecticut have struck upon a still
bolder adventure. They have made the pres-
sible P. T. Barnum, the living embodi-
ment of Yankee notions, their champion and
their new platform, against William H. Bar-
num, an old fogey, famous only for those old-
fashioned virtues of times gone by and for his
well-earned success in the iron business. But
he and all the other Barnums must give way
to the Barnum, as all the O'Donoghues stand
back in the presence of the O'Donoghue.
And what are these Barnums? Men of one
idea against a man of ten thousand ideas.
Take, for example, twenty-five years of
the career of Phillips and twenty-five of the
Barnum, and mark the contrast. Phillips
begins, with some silver and gold in his pos-
session, to preach emancipation; Barnum begins
his negotiations for the old American Museum
with nothing but brass; Phillips continues,
year after year, out of pocket, harping, like
Paganini, on one string; Barnum plays on a
harp of a thousand strings, and a thousand
different tunes, all in the same key. Yet he,
too, has had all along one grand idea. Old
style people might call it the idea of obtaining
money on false pretenses; but it is more than
that. It was the poet's idea of a mortal
pointed on canvas outside the museum and
the dried-up head and arms of a monkey
definitely joined to the tail of a codfish inside
the museum; it was a dray load of old bones
transformed into a Greenhead whale; it was a
woolly horse from an ash-cart changed into a
ferocious nondescript captured by Colonel
Fremonot on the Gila river after three days'
chase with a squad of dragoons; it was in the
day when Santa Anna was a mighty hero, the
transformation of an article, bought perhaps
next door, into Santa Anna's wooden leg; it
was in the person of a leoprous African, the
living embodiment of the negro turning white,
a point of philanthropy in behalf of Sauter
which Phillips and Garrison have never tried
to reach.

Nor does the record of the Barnum consti-
tute a State. They are certainly the strength
of a State. In this view, while Barnum has
sought the improvement of the various breeds
of dogs and chickens in his dog shows and
chicken shows, he has also sought the im-
provement of man, and the white man, in his
baby shows, and has, perhaps, "done the
State some service." In his premiums for the
lady honoring her delighted spouse with the
product at one birth of the best four, the best
three, or the best two babies in the market.
What a contrast in this encouragement of popu-
lation is thus presented by Barnum against
the original ruling idea of John Morrissey of
pounding the life out of men for a premium!

Against this Barnum and the progressive
radicals, what chance has the other Barnum
in Connecticut? None. The other Barnum
is behind the age. The Hon. Ben. Wood him-
self would stand no chance against the Barnum
who commenced the lottery business "on his
own hook" at the close of the war. Behold
also the ground which his platform covers in
the making of the most hideous monsters and
imposture subjects of public gratification; in
proving by practice how the most belligerent
varieties of creatures may be made "a happy
family;" in producing a living example of the
negro turning white; and in improving "the
white man's government" by premiums on
those rejecting mothers blest with the most
bountiful supply of babies.

Against this comprehensive platform of the
other Barnum the other Barnum can only show
a first-rate quality of iron, a good income, and
a good character as a man of business and as
a citizen. His chances in the field of politics are
gone by. Reconstruction is the order of the

day, and representative men of modern ideas
and modern progress, such as Garrison and
Phillips, Ben Butler and old Thad. Stevens,
John Morrissey and P. T. Barnum, lead the
way. Andy Johnson is nowhere, Greeley is
befogged, and Thurlow Weed, with his bogus
body of Morgan, is laid on the shelf.
The impending crisis in Connecticut is be-
tween the two Barnums, and as the issue is
whether this great revolution of modern ideas
shall go on or be stopped, the progressive
Barnum is our ticket. Keep the ball rolling.

British Dining.

From the Tribune.

Somebody said, long ago, that no associa-
tion of Englishmen could get itself fairly into
working harness without a preliminary dinner
at some London or other tavern. The benevo-
lently disposed of a religious turn are usually
content with a breakfast, and viands manage-
able with the fork; but the political Bull must
be fed upon something more substantial, and
sustained at least by the national beef and
pudding. Our latest advices from England
disclose, as one result of public perturbation,
an unusual amount of gregarious feeding. The
Aduilamites have entertained Mr. Horsman at
Stroud, and Mr. Powell at Leeds. The people
of Portsmouth have given Lord Monk a din-
ner, and there have been other great convivial
dinners, to say nothing of the religious banquets
which the churchwardens are always engaged
in celebrating in all parts of the empire.

It is impossible for outside barbarians like
ourselves to get at more than the meaneat
part of these trencher-events, i. e., the
speeches, which usually savor of indigestion,
fine old port, and incipient apoplexy. We do
not know why these brilliant and bold feeders
cannot enjoy their excellent cuts, their turtle,
and their tipple, without assailing the United
States; but beef being the diet of a soldier
(when he can get it), we suppose that a plenty
of it incites to pugacity. Horsman, for in-
stance, Horsman sneeringly told his hearers
that the Aduilamites did not intend to go to
America for their political principles. As no-
body has asked or has expected them to do so,
it seems to us that this disavowal is somewhat
gratuitous; and while Mr. H. was making such
a liberal display of his religion, and getting
rosy of countenance while he defended the
Church, he might have remembered that
charity is popularly supposed to occupy no un-
important place in the Christian scheme.

We may, as Mr. Horsman said, "envy the
British their Constitution;" but as we cannot
get it, and as our weakness is amiable, we
think it hardly kind to upbraid us with it. To
add to our mortification, Mr. Powell, M. P., at
Leeds, sang the same sacrilegious tune, and
made the most of the talk of impeaching Mr. John-
son—of expelling from office "a President
elected by the voice of the people"—which
shows that the ideas of Mr. Powell are some-
what misty. Becroft, M. P., who came after
him, quoted Scripture in defense of Conserva-
tism as follows:—"That good thing which
was committed unto thee, keep!" A fine text,
applicable to titles, to pensions, and to poor
Ireland—that last "good thing" which it costs
more to "keep" than it would to throw away.
But Mr. McDougal, at the Monk dinner,
let the largest, and altogether the most ex-
traordinary, cat out of the bag. McDougal
(of the Canadian Cabinet) has associated
much (he says) with Mr. Seward; and he in-
timated that the Secretary is a great admirer
of the House of Lords and of the House of Com-
mons. This probably comes of Mr. Seward's
extraordinary politeness. Desiring to do the
agreeable to a member of the Canadian Cab-
inet, and probably under genial and diplom-
sophical influences, Mr. Seward said some-
thing to his guest about the sublime beauties
of the British Parliament, which that guest
carried back to England as an argument
against Parliamentary Reform. For we don't
suppose that, ill as he thinks of the present
Congress, and little reason as he has for loving
it, Mr. Seward is really in favor of rotten
boroughs and general popular disfranchise-
ment. Nor was Mr. Lincoln, who was quoted
as expressing a similar opinion.

The flower of this rhetorical crowd to which
we have alluded was undoubtedly Mr. Hor-
sman. If the England of to-day, full of pain
and anxiety, and sorely troubled about the
future, can be saved by oratorical common-
places and by threadbare phrases, Horsman
is the predestinate savior of the empire.
He is the man to talk about the "purer and
the higher principles;" about the maxims of
the religion which is "our hope;" about "our
noble Constitution, which is the bulwark of
freedom;" also, "the type of progress;" also
"the envy and admiration of the world." We
wonder how long loose, and flabby, and con-
ventional, and traditional talk like this can
make even a respectable stand against Mr.
John Bright's eloquence and common sense?
When we say not long, we do not speak
without experience. We have tried that medi-
cine for political ills upon this side of our ex-
ceeding sorrow and expense. Neither din-
ners nor speeches after them neither beef nor
sophistry, neither venison nor platitudes,
neither turtle nor snails at the United States,
neither port wine nor pathetic praises of the
past, can do more than lull the England of
to-day into a slumberous confidence which
will be fatal to the England of to-morrow.
Indeed, the time even for doing so much
seems to have gone by. The beef at the
tavern dinners may be potent, but the want
of it in the poor man's pot will prove more
potent still. At any rate, the difficulty will
hardly be tidied over by the exertions of men
born four hundred years too late, and who
spend the time and wind which belong to their
own country in blowing up the Americans.

The Late Mission to San Domingo.

From the Times.

Private advices which we have just received
from San Domingo lead us to believe that the
late Seward-Porter mission to the West Indies
was by no means such a failure as it was
hastily proclaimed to be by those who knew
nothing whatever about it. In fact, no one
need be surprised if we should speedily learn
that it was a success in all its parts, and that
the scheme was not one hastily and crudely
formed, but was the same scheme which had
long attracted the attention of our Govern-
ment, and which the Secretary of State him-
self put in the way of consummation during his
visit to the West Indies a year or more ago.

When Assistant Secretary Seward left An-
napolis with Admiral Porter on a Government
vessel, in January last, he was rightly reported
as accredited on a mission to enter into nego-
tiations with the authorities of San Domingo
for securing or purchasing a harbor and port
in that island as a naval station of the United
States. The fine, valuable, well-known, and
long-desired Bay of Samana was the locality
whose acquisition was to be effected, and it
was to be done through the actual assent of
the Dominican Government at this time in
power. Now (if our advices from the island
be correct) the mission of Assistant Secretary

Seward was successfully accomplished; the
points of negotiation and treaty were es-
tablished with President Cabral; and within
the present week an official agent has arrived
in this country bearing a preliminary treaty
which has received the sanction of the legisla-
tive and executive authorities of San Domingo,
and this preliminary treaty will presently be
submitted, if it has not by this time been sub-
mitted, to our Government.

This matter is one of very high importance
to the United States—important in reference
to our commercial interests, and to our present
and future position as a great and self-defensive
power. We trust that no obstacle will im-
pede the consummation and ratification of the
treaty, and our acquisition of this West Indian
station.

The Supreme Court—Its Relations to the
Pending Conflict.

From the World.

We suppose it to be good generalship at
every new movement of the enemy to recon-
noitre his strength, with a view to discover
the most effective disposition which can be
made of our own.

The strength of the conservative position
for immediate operations lies in the President
and the Supreme Court. But these advan-
tages are defensive and temporary. They are
of little use except as a means of gaining time
to rally and recruit our forces. Unless we
can elect President Johnson's successor, his
fidelity to the Constitution is but a transient
advantage. So long as there was reason to
hope for the final closing up of this contro-
versy during his term, it was not necessary
to look to the Presidential election as the key
of the political situation. But, since the
recession of Congress and the consequent
relief previous to that event, it is necessary
to extend the scope of our calculations.

We must estimate the possibilities that lie
beyond the Presidential election, in order to
act intelligently in the preliminaries of the
election itself. If any portion of the conserva-
tives, North or South, think that we shall be
as well off without the next President as with,
they will, of course, oppose any tactics to
improve our chances of electing him. For our
part, we do not wish to see this point decided
without discussion, but after discussion; and
if on a fair comparison and balance of advan-
tages, the South think it best to let the Presi-
dential election go by default, it is not for us
to question their right of abstention.

In the actual position of affairs, the Supreme
Court is of no more value to the South than
the President. In the absence of the South
from Congress, the adverse majority being
sufficient to overrule the President's veto, he
is practically powerless, except to stand as
sentinel at the door of the Supreme Court. A
two-thirds majority of Congress avails nothing
against a decision of the Court; and the ap-
pointment of the Judges being vested in the
President, Congress can accomplish nothing
by increasing their number. But if the Re-
publicans elect President Johnson's successor,
they will thereby gain control of the Supreme
Court, and thus remove the only barrier that
stands between their absolute will and the un-
protected South. If the conservatives do not
carry the next Presidential election, the South
is delivered over to six years more (six count-
ing from this date) of unrelieved oppression.

A radical President could veto every bill re-
pealing the acts of this and the succeeding
Congress, and whatever revolutions might
take place in the popular sentiment during
four years ending March 4, 1873, the long term
of the Senators will prevent our getting two-
thirds of the Senate, and passing repeal laws
over the veto. There is, accordingly, no visible
hope of early justice to the South, except
through the Presidential election. Meanwhile,
the conservative majority of the Supreme
Court is a valuable temporary advantage.

But this advantage is too limited, and is
held by too frail a tenure, to be an important
element in any long-sighted political calcula-
tion. The tenure of the Judges is, to be sure,
stable in one respect, since they keep their
offices during good behavior. But the con-
servative advantage in that Court is held by
the slender thread of a single life. There are
five conservative and four radical Judges; the
oldest men, appointees of former Democratic
Presidents, being among the conservatives,
and, in the usual course of nature, most likely
to die. The loss of one conservative Judge
would make a tie, and no law can be declared
unconstitutional but by a clear majority.
President Johnson could not replace a con-
servative Judge by a new appointment, because
Congress, at its last session, passed a law
reducing the number of Judges to nine, for-
bidding any new appointments until, by
the occurrence of vacancies, that limit is
reached.

The consequence is, that if a case testing the
constitutionality of the Sherman law should
be made up by the South during the coming
season, it would depend upon the life of every
one of five men, some of them far advanced,
whether the decision, a year hence, would be
favorable. The chance is certainly worth the
trial; but is subject to this contingency.
Whatever may be the immediate prospect of
life, it would be against the ordinary course
of nature for the conservative majority to remain
till the close of a new Presidential term, or
even far into it. The Supreme Court is, at
best, but a temporary dyke to help stay the
floods while we are building a more permanent
embankment. If we do not carry the Presi-
dential election, the Supreme Court will at
once cease to afford any protection. In the
meantime, the death of one venerable old man
may, any day in the year, take away all its
restraining power.

Practically, the question is no longer what
may be done this side of the Presidential elec-
tion, but what may be done by means of it.
Under the most favorable circumstances, a de-
cision of the Supreme Court cannot be obtained
before next winter; and by that time we are
on the very eve of the Presidential election.
If the Supreme Court, in setting aside the new
law, could also restore the Southern States to
Congress, or insure the counting of their elec-
toral votes, a decision next winter would be in
ample season. But the sole effect of their
decision would be to remand things back to
the condition in which Sherman's bill found
nature for the conservative exclusion of members
there. The admission or exclusion of members
is a business over which the Supreme Court
has no jurisdiction. The electoral votes of
both Houses and under their superintend-
ence, and when the result is declared by the
President of the Senate, there is no tribunal
that can review it. If the new law should be
declared unconstitutional by the Supreme
Court, next winter Congress would pass a new
act, prescribing other terms of restoration;
and as the compliance of the Southern States
with the new conditions could not be sub-
mitted for approval until the following ses-
sion, the South would be excluded from the
Presidential election, without remedy or re-
dress.

This is the chief result at which the radicals
aim. They would as willingly see it accom-
plished by an adverse decision of the Supreme
Court as by Southern non-acceptance of a plan

which the court sustained. Any means of de-
feating Southern participation in the election
establishes their domination for six years from
the 4th of March now at hand. It is all one
to them whether the new law is set aside or
sustained. A decision either way is equally
favorable to their wishes, provided the South
does not meanwhile reorganize under the new
law. If the South waits to test it and get a
decision on it, the Southern States are excluded
from the Presidential election any way. If, by
the death of a conservative Judge, the law
should be sustained, and the South should
then acquiesce, it would be too late to take
part in the Presidential election, since the new
constitutions could not be presented for ap-
proval until the winter following.

Sherman's bill varies the situation, by an
unequivocal Congressional pledge that the
States shall be restored on their compliance
with certain clearly defined conditions. No
such pledge was made in connection with the
Constitutional amendment passed at the last
session. The Southern States might have
rallied that, and yet Congress might have
excluded them without violating any explicit
promise. Both schemes were artfully con-
trived for starving off restoration as their main
object, and charging the blame of postpone-
ment upon the South as their minor object.
It is the policy of the Republicans to block the
wheels while making a bustling pretense of
trying to move them. By a shrewd calcula-
tion, based upon a pretty correct knowledge
of Southern opinion, they succeeded last year;
and by a calculation equally shrewd they are
in a fair way to succeed again. By rejecting
the amendment last year, the South risked
nothing. But the approach of the Presi-
dential election makes time so important an
element, that a delay of a single year will cost
the conservative cause all the Southern elec-
toral votes.

True it is that no lapse of time can change
the question of constitutional right; but rights
avail nothing without remedies, and if no
remedy comes through the next Presidential
election, from what quarter does the South
look for one? Is the conservative cause so
superfluously strong that it can afford to throw
away sixty or seventy electoral votes? Time
and events have brought things to such a pass
that if these votes are worth saving, they must
be saved by Southern action this year. Far
be it from us to dignify, or dictate, the
South is just as free to refrain from action as
it is to act. But "there is a tide in the affairs
of men;" and it is for the South to judge for
itself whether there is a prospect of compensat-
ing advantages, sufficient to justify it in
withholding its assistance in the Presidential
election.

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LEGAL NOTICES.

ESTATE OF CHARLES HEBURN, DE-
ceased.—Letters testamentary upon the Estate
of CHARLES HEBURN, deceased, having been
granted to the undersigned by the Register of Wills of
Philadelphia, all persons indebted to the Estate will
make payment, and those having claims will please
present them immediately to the undersigned.
JAMES FARIES, Executor,
No. 311 CARPENTER STREET,
Or to his Attorney,
E. COPPEE MITCHELL,
No. 82 WALNUT STREET,
PHILADELPHIA, February 21, 1867. 211m

IN THE ORPHANS' COURT FOR THE CITY

AND COUNTY OF PHILADELPHIA,
Estate of WILLIAM W. SMITH, deceased.
The Auditor appointed by the Court to audit, settle,
and adjust the accounts of SAPO JEWELL, Execu-
tor of the last will and testament of WILLIAM W.
SMITH, deceased, and to report distribution of the
balance in the hands of the executor, will meet the
parties interested for the purpose of his appointment,
on MONDAY, the 4th day of March, 1867, at 4 o'clock
P. M., at his office No. 36 WALNUT STREET, in the
city of Philadelphia.
AMOS J. KELLY,
Auditor. 211m

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